Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

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# U.S. Yugoslavs Back Tito Govt. Against Stalinism

NEW YORK, May 13 — Close to a thousand people of Yugoslav descent attended the first rally sponsored by the Friends of New Yugoslavia in New York last Sunday, demonstrating their solidarity with the Tito regime and the workers and peasants of Yugoslavia in their heroic struggle for national and social liberation. A counter-meeting organized by Stalinists that afternoon in the same building drew a meager crowd of 50 people.

**This first test of strength in the struggle between the rival groups reveals the extent to which Yugoslav-Americans in this city have broken with Stalinism, which dominated the movement until recently.**

The Friends of New Yugoslavia rally, consisting of a combination meeting and concert, followed by a dance, was pervaded with a spirit of great enthusiasm. The meeting was addressed by M. Telesmanich, president of the organization; Alexander Jurich, president of the board of directors of Novi List, weekly journal of the New Yugoslav tendency in America; and M. Markovich, the Yugoslav consul-general in New York City.

Jurich, in his speech, vigorously denounced the Kremlin's betrayal of the Yugoslav people. He charged that by its crimes, the Stalinist bureaucracy besmirched the great October Revolution, and did incalculable harm to the working class movement of the entire world. His appeal for support to the masses of Yugoslavia in their valiant struggle against subjugation by the Moscow autocracy clearly expressed the sentiments of the entire audience.

Markovich reported on the advances being made in Yugoslavia in various phases of its economic and cultural life.

**The collapse of the Kremlin's influence among Americans of Yugoslav descent is also graphically illustrated by the dismal failure of the current national drive for subscriptions and funds for the Stalinist Croatian paper, Narodni Glasnik. According to their own figures, after seven weeks of a projected two month drive, they had obtained 42 subs out of a quota of 508. Only two subs were recorded for the entire state of Pennsylvania, which has a population of 400,000 Yugoslav-Americans. Of 12,000 previous subscribers, only 1,348 renewed their subs.**

DISMAL FAILURE

Their fund drive appears to be a distinct failure as well. Only $7,856.69 was raised out of a quota of $30,285. Two years ago, a similar drive for $50,000 went $10,000 over the top. The editors, wailing about the miserable results, have extended the drive in an effort to make a better showing.

On the other hand, Novi List is receiving a steady stream of subscriptions from Yugoslav communities throughout the U. S. and Canada, and new branches of the Friends of New Yugoslavia are being organized in many cities. In the first four weeks of the current subscription drive, 600 new subs have been received.

**It is clear from these developments that the Kremlin's counter-revolutionary campaign against the Yugoslav regime is dealing serious blows to Stalinism in America as well as in Europe. The defection of class-conscious Yugoslav-Americans is especially significant, since the overwhelming majority are industrial workers in the basic sectors of the American economy. Tens of thousands of these workers are concentrated in the coal mines of Pennsylvania, the iron mines of Minnesota, the steel mills of Pittsburgh and the Chicago area, the auto factories of Cleveland and Detroit, and the docks of New York City.**

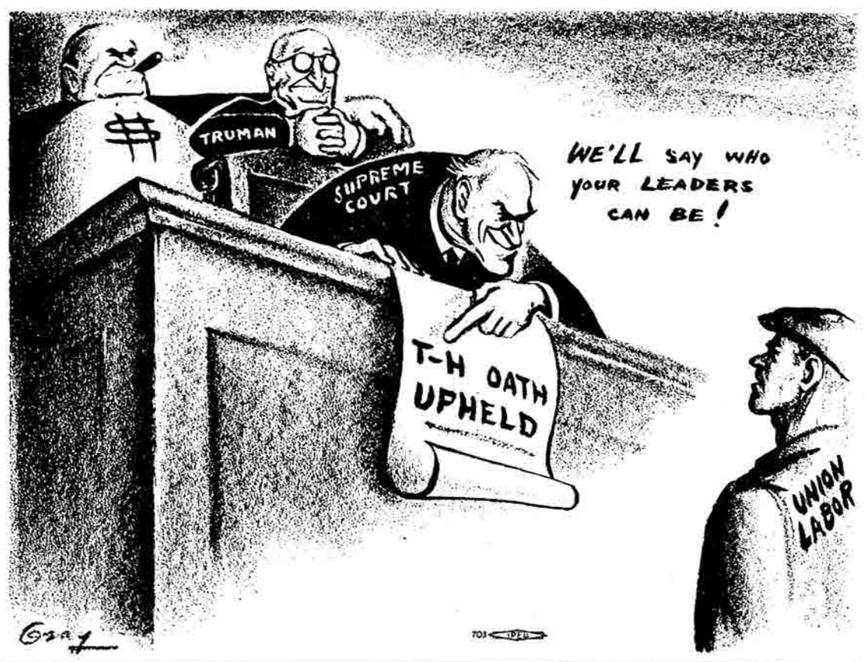
## SWP on Ballot In Mich., Penna.

Socialist Workers Party candidates have definitely been assured places on the state ballots in Michigan and Pennsylvania for the November elections.

The Pennsylvania SWP is running Clyde Turner for U.S. Senator and Herbert Lewin for Governor on the Militant Workers Party ticket, the SWP ballot designation. The Socialist Party and Industrial Government (Socialist Labor) Party have also been placed on the ballot. The Progressive Party is running no candidates, although already having ballot status.

The Michigan Secretary of State has notified the SWP that the deadline for filing objections to its nominating petitions has passed and it is now on the state ballot.

# Labor's Fears Aroused By Reactionary Trend




## But Leaders Continue Their Same False Political Policy

By Art Preis

**Labor political circles are greatly agitated by three recent events — the Supreme Court's ruling in favor of the Taft-Hartley oath, the sham battle being waged by the Truman Democrats on FEPC and the defeat of Senator Pepper in the Florida primaries.**

The top union leadership reflects a disquiet and alarm that is pervading the ranks. This has reached the point where there is already a beginning of a revival of the "third party" talk that was heard prior to Truman's renomination in 1948.

It is not easy for the Trumanite union leaders to dodge the real implication of the Supreme Court's decision. This is Truman's court, made up of a majority of his appointees. The union leaders had counted on it to point the way, through the non-"Communist" oath case, toward eventual nullification of the entire Taft-Hartley act as unconstitutional.

T-H STRENGTHENED

**Instead, the court upheld the oath by a five to one vote. This has strengthened not only the one phase of the act under review, but the entire act, just as Truman has repeatedly strengthened T-H by invoking it against strikes. The political implications of the Supreme Court decision are underscored by the fact that it was made against an appeal by the CIO United Steel Workers, whose president is Philip Murray, head of the CIO. Truman owes his election to the CIO more than any other organization.**

The Supreme Court decision cannot but confirm the conclusion that has been maturing, at least among the union rank and file, that the Truman administration has no serious intention of fighting for repeal of Taft-Hartley, despite Truman's occasional verbal assurances to the contrary. And Taft-Hartley repeal, it must be remembered, was Truman's key pre-election promise to labor.

FEPC RUNAROUND

The cynical and hypocritical actions of the Trumanites with respect to Taft-Hartley are paralleled on the issue of civil rights. What has been happening to FEPC has been an eye-opener for many who took Truman's promises for good coin. The gutting of the FEPC bill in the House and the double-dealing of the Trumanites on FEPC in the Senate have brought moans and cries of protest from even the most ardent White House-supporters among the Negro leaders. They are having a tough time selling the Negro rank and file on the superior virtues of Trumanite Democrats over other varieties of capitalist politicians.

If the labor leaders thought they could continue to ride along on promises and still corral a sufficient number of votes to elect a majority of Democrats to Congress this fall, they would not be worried. But the outcome of the Florida primaries has caused them grave concern.

FLORIDA PRIMARY

Referring to the defeat of Pepper, Jack Kroll, head of the CIO Political Action Committee, said: **"The primaries are a grim warning to the American people. We face an assault upon the whole pattern of our society—upon unemployment compensation, old age income, public housing, health and education... The tactics we have seen in Florida will soon be used in every state, in every ward and**

(Continued on page 2)

# Trumanite Liberals Join In New FEPC Sellout

By William E. Bohannan

**MAY 16—The Senate debate over the FEPC bill is now in its second week, with virtually nobody in the country expecting it to end in the passage of effective anti-discrimination legislation. The Southern bloc is confident that it can prevent a vote on the bill, and it has good reason for its confidence because the Truman administration isn't putting up any serious kind of fight for the bill at all.**

According to the schedule, a vote on closure will be taken on May 19 (after this issue of The Militant has gone to press). If closure doesn't get 64 votes, then FEPC will be done for so far as the present session of Congress is concerned. If, somehow, the necessary votes are rounded up, then the fight will really begin in the Senate.

But it won't be a fight around the original FEPC bill. In the first place, Taft and other Republicans will introduce a "compromise" amendment similar to the one brought up by McConnell and passed by the House earlier this year. It will call for a "voluntary" FEPC, which will have no punitive powers and will be restricted to "educating" the Jim Crow employers.

The Trumanites pretended to be very indignant when the Republicans introduced the McConnell "compromise" in the House. But now the Trumanites have worked out a "compromise" of their own and plan to bring it up in the Senate debate if they get a chance.

HUMPHREY'S OFFER

**The author of this new compromise, according to the well-informed columnist Robert S. Allen, is none other than Senator Hubert Humphrey, the idol of the liberals who hails from Minnesota and won his national reputation and his Senate seat as a result of his championship of the civil rights plank at the 1948 Democratic national convention.**

Humphrey's "compromise" is supposed to "split the difference" between the original bill and the McConnell measure. Here is how Allen describes it:

"Under the Humphrey bill only companies doing business with the government would be subject to punishment for violations, and, even then, the principal penalty would be in the form of 'sanctions.' That is, the guilty concern would lose its federal contract or be barred from such business. The bill would not apply to individuals, and no one would be fined or sent to jail—as the administration's bill now pending before the Senate provides."

LESSON ABOUT LIBERALS

Because Humphrey represents the Trumanite "left wing" on the civil rights issue, Allen says that "his willingness to accept a markedly watered-down FEPC is a sensational change in viewpoint and strategy."

**It is more than that, however. It is proof that the labor and Negro movements cannot rely on ANY capitalist politician to keep his promises on civil rights, no matter how "liberal" or even "radical" he talks, and no matter what alibis he offers to excuse his treachery. If the American workers learn that lesson from the present FEPC fiasco in Congress, then it won't be altogether wasted.**

## Hitler Went, But The Nazis Remain

**After a "war against fascism" that cost 60 million lives and after five more years of "denazification" there are 53 former Nazi party members who are now deputies in the Bonn Bundestag (Parliament) of the West German government supported by the Allied imperialists, it was revealed in a May 8 United Press dispatch. Maj. Gen. Charles P. Gross, U. S. Commissioner for Wuerttenberg-Baden, has acknowledged that 75% of that state's 11,000 officials are former Nazis. All but ten of the Bundestag ex-Nazis are in the ruling coalition led by Chancellor Adenauer.**

# Murray Offers Steel Union Convention No Real Program

The 2,300 delegates to the Fifth Constitutional Convention of the CIO United Steel Workers, held May 9-12 in Atlantic City, did not really expect much. They got just about what they expected. In an atmosphere rarely lifted above apathy and boredom, they submitted to endless speeches by Philip Murray, the union's president, and a flock of government brass hats and assorted sky-pilots. The one thing that could have aroused their wholehearted enthusiasm they didn't get — a fighting union program to benefit the steelworkers.

Murray dominated the proceedings every minute and delegates could hardly get a word in edgewise. He and the guest speakers indulged in an orgy of mutual backslapping and self-glorification.

The convention was an opportunity for some honest analysis of what the union accomplished and failed to accomplish since the previous convention. It was a chance above all to critically examine the policies pursued in the "fourth round" wage struggle six months ago.

DISCUSSION DISCOURAGED

**But anything short of all-out praise for Murray's policies and the paltry pension gained after a six-week strike and the surrender of immediate wage increases was met with a personal blast from Murray. One delegate who mildly voiced the opinion that the union could have got a better pension and social insurance plan and that the leadership might have done better was promptly "answered" by Murray in a 20-minute oration.**

In the officers' report to the convention and in Murray's opening address, there was considerable complaint about the extortionate profits of the steel monopolists who Murray said were raking in "$1.16 for every dollar paid out in wages." There were warnings that this would lead to unemployment and depression. And Murray even threatened that unless wages were raised and prices lowered, the employers would face "the inevitable day of retribution at the hands of the American people."

But it was hard for the delegates to take seriously Murray's talk about higher wages. Only six months ago he had kicked away the union's chances for higher wages when he virtually agreed in advance to take the recommendations of Truman's steel "fact-finding" board, which opposed even one more penny in wages. Under the terms of the contract Murray finally signed, wage demands cannot be raised until next October and if his past performances are a criterion he will then stall and compromise in negotiations for months and do everything in his power to prevent a real fight for wages.

JUST TALK

Similarly, Murray raised the question of the union shop, a demand which the steel workers have enthusiastically supported at convention after convention. But, as on the wage issue, this was just talk and no proposal for

(Continued on page 2)

# QUESTION OF INDO-CHINA 'TITOISM' ARISES AGAIN

When the Ho Chi Minh government in Indo-China requested and received diplomatic recognition from the Yugoslav government last winter, the world Stalinist movement was shaken. They could hardly repress a sigh of relief when a few days later a Viet Minh radio station broadcast some statements attacking Tito. This, they have said ever since, is definitive "proof" of the "anti-Titoist" character of the Ho Chi Minh government.

Now, however, the whole question has been raised again as the result of an interview in Thailand between N. Y. Times correspondent C. L. Sulzberger and Nguyen Duc Quy, the trusted lieutenant of Ho Chi Minh who had sent the original request for recognition to Belgrade. (May 12 Times.)

**There has been no exchange of diplomatic missions between the Ho Chi Minh government and any of the recognizing powers. But, Nguyen Duc Quy said, "he assumed that a status of diplomatic recognition existed and that in this sense the Ho Chi Minh government had the same relationships with Yugoslavia as with the USSR, or other powers."**

"NO CHANGE"

Regarding the radio attacks on Tito, Nguyen Duc Quy declared that they were "merely quotations from some of our newspapers." He said various opinions had been expressed by the Viet Namese press but that no change in the original recognition had occurred. According to him, the Ho Chi Minh regime includes not only Stalinists but Socialists, Nationalists, Democrats, etc.

**If this explanation is to be credited, then the radio attacks on Tito by no means settled the question of "Titoism" in Indo-China, as the Stalinists try to make it appear.**

Some people may suspect that the Ho Chi Minh regime is trying to dissemble its Stalinist character. But even if that were the case, the Kremlin would never permit or authorize it to do so around the Yugoslav issue, on which all its puppets must take a clear-cut anti-Tito position.

**Furthermore, even if the radio broadcast had represented the position of the entire Ho regime, rather than the Stalinist section of it, that would not explain why the regime had dispatched the request for recognition to Belgrade in the first place.**

TROUBLE BREWING

With U.S. imperialism speeding up the delivery of arms and dollars to the French and their puppets in Indo-China, the Ho Chi Minh government is placed in a position of greater dependence than previously on the good will of the Chinese CP leadership. Under these circumstances, its silence or even apparent compliance with the Kremlin line on Yugoslavia will not be decisive proof of anything. Nothing further may develop openly until after the war in Indo-China is finished. But enough has happened already to indicate that trouble for Stalin is brewing in Southeast Asia.

**In fact, the possibility cannot be excluded that Stalin may eventually withdraw support from the Ho Chi Minh government just as he did from the Greek resistance movement when he became convinced that its leadership was infected with "Titoism."**

# Is Catholic Hierarchy Linked to McCarthy?

By Joseph Keller

**Is the Roman Catholic hierarchy linked to the sinister smear campaign being waged by Senator Joseph McCarthy? This question is raised by the sensational speech of Senator Dennis Chavez, Democrat of New Mexico, from the Senate floor on May 12.**

Speaking as a Roman Catholic himself, Chavez charged that Louis Budenz, McCarthy's witness against Professor Owen Lattimore, has been using the Catholic Church as a "shield and cloak" behind which he is falsely denouncing others as members or agents of the Communist Party. Chavez conveyed the impression that Budenz, in his role of chief informer for the witch-hunters, was acting without the sanction of the Church authorities and against their wishes.

The Very Rev. Laurence J. McGinley, president of Fordham University, a leading Catholic institution where Budenz is employed, promptly denounced Chavez for "personal vilification . . . even lower than that reached in the columns of the Daily Worker" and declared that "Professor Budenz —both as a teacher and as a Christian gentleman—has deserved and continues to enjoy the full confidence of the university." He admitted that Budenz's anti-"communist" activities have been carried out "with the knowledge and consent of the university authorities," meaning, of course, the Catholic hierarchy.

PROTECTING THE CHURCH

**In thus publicly placing Budenz under the "shield and cloak" of the Catholic Church, the Very Rev. McGinley was obviously motivated in part by a desire to protect the prestige of the church. For five years Budenz has been played up as a sample of "spiritual and moral rejuvenation" resulting from his return to the "one true Church." Anything that discredits him reflects on the Catholic hierarchy that has sponsored him. That's why the hierarchy reacted so sharply when Chavez denounced Budenz as a liar, an informer for personal gain, a bigamist and self-confessed participant in Stalin's GPU preparations to murder Leon Trotsky.**

Moreover, if the Catholic hierarchy disavowed Budenz it would destroy his value as a witness and throw into disrepute all the testimony he has given as a "Christian gentleman" in the trial of the Stalinist leaders, before the House Un-American Activities Committee and in support of McCarthy's charges against the State Department and Lattimore.

**But there is evidence that the Catholic hierarchy is not disinterested in the McCarthy affair as such and in his smear against the Truman administration and State Department, particularly on the China question.**

Is it merely accidental that McCarthy and those who have provided the material for his charges are Catholics? His charges are a striking parallel to those which have appeared in China Monthly, published by the American China Policy Association, and which have been circulated by the so-called "China lobby." The President of ACPA is Mrs. Clare Booth Luce, wife of the publisher of Time, Life and Fortune and a widely-publicized convert to the Catholic Church. William J. Goodwin, registered lobbyist and paid agent of the Chiang Kai-shek government, has admitted he was once a member of Father Coughlin's "Christian Front." And the witness produced to back up their charges is a professional informer in the pay of the Catholic Church.

BUDENZ GAVE A CLUE

**Budenz himself gave a clue to the hierarchy's interest in the political aspects of the McCarthy affair. In closing his testimony against Lattimore, Budenz offered what he called his "first corroborative documents." Among them—and the one to which he directly referred—was an article by Father James F. Kearney, in the December 1948 issue of Columbia, published by the Knights of Columbus.**

This article, inserted into the appendix of the Congressional Record for Jan. 5, 1949, is a bitter attack on the U.S. State Department for its refusal to give further all-out military and financial aid to the disintegrating and completely discredited Chiang regime. It strongly endorses the policy of American military intervention in China advocated by William C. Bullitt, former ambassador to China, in his series written for Life magazine.

The significant feature of this article by a leading Jesuit is an

(Continued on Page 2)

# REUTHERITES SET BACK AT MICH. CIO PARLEY

GRAND RAPIDS, May 11 — The first set-back suffered in many years by the Reuther-Scholle leadership of the Michigan State CIO was recorded here last week when the delegates to the state convention voted 1,870 to 1,671 to rescind action taken a year ago for biennial conventions and to restore annual meetings instead.

**The debate and action on this question was the one bright spot in a convention which otherwise was dull and lifeless. The entire first day's proceedings of this two and a half day convention were consumed by routine speeches from the platform.**

Early in the second day's session, Ernest Mazey, delegate of Briggs UAW-CIO Local 212 and one of the leaders of the progressive forces at the convention, attempted to break through these cut and dried proceedings with a motion to bring up for consideration the proposals on the biennial conventions. Don Stevens, state CIO vice-president then in the chair, arbitrarily ruled the motion out of order and cut off the microphone as Mazey attempted to motivate his proposal.

ISSUES INVOLVED

The action of Stevens was so crude and high-handed that it created considerable resentment. A few moments later when Kenneth Forbes, president of UAW-CIO Local 455 and chairman of the anti-Scholle caucus, presented a similar motion, it was recognized and put to a vote. The motion carried and the stage was set for the only real discussion of the convention, which involved not only frequency of meetings but also preservation of union democracy and rank and file control.

**When the voice vote was taken it was apparent that the supporters of an annual convention had carried. Nevertheless, Scholle called for a standing vote which he also declared in doubt. In a similar situation a year ago the administration had won on a ballot vote, but when it was taken this time, the delegates stood firm and voted to rescind the biennal convention and return to annual conventions.**

In the election of officers, Gus Scholle was re-elected president by a vote of 2,807 to 876 for Claude Bland of Hudson Local 154. Barney Hopkins retained his

(Continued on Page 4)

European Notebook

# After Greece's Election

By Ernest Germain

**The situation in Greece is changing almost imperceptibly. The new government of General Plastiras has announced its decision to inaugurate in the country an era of pacification. No new prisoners are being sent to the terror-camps of Makronissos. From among the old prisoners a certain number are beginning to be released. A few periodicals of the left are beginning to reappear. Workers' strikes of remarkable tenacity have taken place among the postal and government employees and in certain branches of industry. From all indications the heroic Greek working class, after suffering a succession of bloody defeats for the last five years, is once again raising its head and resuming the road of class action.**

How explain this new situation that has arisen in Greece? It is, in the first place, the result of a magnificent demonstration of political consciousness shown by the popular masses during the elections last March. In spite of all the police pressures, in spite of the most cynical election frauds, in spite of the open terror that prevailed in many parts of the country, the big victors of the day were the different political formations of the center and of the left who had violently criticized the repressive polices of the regime of Tsaldaris-Venizelos (they are respectively the leaders of the Populists and the Liberals, the two main parties of Greek reaction).

### VICTORIOUS FORMATIONS

These victorious formations were: The National Progressive Union of General Plastiras who during the campaign advocated the legalization of the Communist Party and received the ardent support of the world Stalinist press and of the radio broadcasts of the countries of "People's Democracy"; the Democratic Front of Professor Sophianopoulos in which the Greek Socialist Party participated and for which the Greek Trotskyists called upon the workers to vote; the so-called "Democratic Socialist" Party of Papandreou, a formation much further to the right, but which also took a stand against the Venizelos-Tsaldaris regime. In this way the Greek people clearly expressed their will to put an end to the regime of police terror and corruption ruling the country.

**For its part, the American mission which keeps an eye in Greece over the utilization of credits so prodigally disbursed by American imperialism among the bankrupts of Athens, did not fail on many occasions to voice its dissatisfaction with the way in which these credits had been squandered by the ruling Greek circles. In this respect the Greece of Tsaldaris was a miniature China under Chiang Kai-shek. While the country's economy lay prostrate and in complete disorder, a few hundred families of speculators and politicos shamelessly enriched themselves with the American dollars.**

### SHIFT IN ORIENTATION

The U.S. State Department has let Athens know that now that the direct military threat is over, this situation must quickly change, otherwise the flow of dollars would be cut off one fine day. In General Plastiras' new cabinet there is to be found in the post of Finance Minister a world famous specialist, Mr. Tsouderos, on whom the Americans are banking to restore a semblance of order in Greek finances.

The shift in political orientation in Greece is, in the meantime, imposed upon the Americans also for international political reasons. The mission of Mr. Allen, the new U.S. ambassador to Belgrade who is a big specialist in Balkan affairs, actually consists in an attempt to create a "Rome-Belgrade-Athens" axis that would definitively isolate the USSR and its satellites from the Mediterranean. It goes without saying for anyone in the least acquainted with the orientation of Tito's foreign policy that Yugoslavia will not permit herself to be incorporated in any anti-Soviet "bloc."

### YUGOSLAV ROLE

But who can reproach Yugoslavia for seeking to use the American advances in order to expedite a change of regime at Athens? Tito himself and several other Yugoslav spokesmen declared before and after the Greek elections that any "normalization" of diplomatic relations would be impossible so long as the Tsaldaris-Venizelos regime remained in Athens.

**This firm attitude of the Yugoslav Communists, whose power of attraction in the Balkans and in the entire Mediterranean basin has not ceased to grow, has assuredly contributed considerably in causing the American circles and the responsible Greek capitalist circles to bring about a shift of power from the cabinet of General Tsaldaris. Even the Greek Stalinist leaders are obliged to admit in private talks that Tito has contributed more toward the elimination of the monarcho-fascist regime in Greece than the Greek CP and all the "People's Democracies" put together.**

After five years of virtually incessant civil war, the desire for peace and tranquillity is so powerful among the Greek people that the Greek bourgeoisie and American imperialism are obliged to adjust themselves to it; otherwise they incur the risk that the underground Stalinist movement will seize upon this desire and convert it into a menacing political weapon. But the social contradictions in Greece are so exacerbated and capitalism is so incapable of satisfying the most modest economic demand of the workers, that every extension of democratic liberties, no matter how slim, acts immediately to augment the scope of working class actions and of the social conflicts.

### THE NEW REGIME

That is why the Greek bourgeoisie has hesitated so long, as it still does, to abandon emergency measures which it views as the sole safeguard against a new wave of working class struggles. That is why, while the publication of the Socialist daily **Machi** has been legalized, anyone reading a copy in the street is liable to be arrested immediately or even assassinated. That is why, while the opposition was allowed at the elections, the police and the agents of reaction attended oppositional meetings to take pictures of the participants and to draw up new blacklists. In a word, that is why even the new Plastiras regime still remains much closer to a dictatorship than to a bourgeois democracy.

The example of Greece at the same time demonstrates the complete incapacity of the European bourgeoisie to score decisive victories over the working class, to crush the militancy of the workers for an entire period, to solve the social crisis in its own way. No other proletariat has fought so many times since 1944, in so many lost battles, arms in hand, as has the Greek proletariat. No other leadership has more cynically pursued a policy of betrayal than the Greek Stalinists. In no other country has a more ferocious dictatorial regime been established than in Greece.

### REASONS FOR OPTIMISM

In spite of all this on the very next day after the terrible defeat of the partisans, the Greece of the workers and peasants utilizes the slightest respite in order to powerfully affirm its will to struggle for its own solution in the country. If despite all these bloody defeats, the Greek proletariat has not permitted itself to be beaten down, who can doubt for a moment that the French and Italian workers, whose combat reserves remain immense, will not be conquered? Who can doubt that the British workers, more confident than ever in their own forces, constitute a powerful bastion which reaction will not be able either to overthrow or even to seriously undermine?

**Here are substantial reasons for revolutionary optimism! So long as the European workers conserve such possibilities for struggle, it will not be possible for the third world war to break out and new revolutionary perspectives will appear on the old continent.**

# IS CATHOLIC HIERARCHY LINKED TO McCARTHY?

(Continued from page 1)

attack on a section of the American press for what he called its "pink" reporting on Chinese events. Father Kearney describes "two distinct groups among the correspondents." One he praised, "the **Time-Life-Fortune** and Scripps-Howard groups," which reflect the political views of the Catholic hierarchy. The other he attacks, the "**New York Herald Tribune** and **Washington Post** group, followers of Edgar Snow, Ted White, and, out in China, of J. W. Powell, of the China Review . . ."

**Then comes the big revelation. "The Snow-White group acknowledge as their leader Owen Lattimore."**

LOUIS BUDENZ

### WHY BUDENZ WAITED

Here we find an answer to why Budenz waited five years after he first started to finger "Communists" to recollect the alleged "communism" of Lattimore. The Catholic Church did not put its interdiction on Lattimore until December 1948.

Indeed, it couldn't very well attack Lattimore before then. He was 100% in accord with the Truman administration's, and previously Roosevelt's, policy of complete support to the bloody Chiang regime. He had been a personal advisor to Chiang and had repeatedly praised that dictator as a "statesman of genius" and compared him to George Washington. Lattimore then had the same line, more or less, as the Catholic hierarchy.

### MATERIAL INTERESTS

**The Catholic hierarchy's rabid campaign for American military intervention in China is based on vital material interests. Its China missions face "ruin," as Father Kearney wrote, and the nationalist peasant revolts throughout the Far East, spurred by the Chinese revolution, threaten its profitable land holdings and investments in countries like the Philippines and Indonesia.**

We cannot say whether the Catholic hierarchy inspired McCarthy to make his first charge that the State Department is honey-combed with "Communists." But when he was put on the spot to prove this charge, he came up with a "line" on China and Lattimore that stems directly from Father Kearney's article and from organizations run by Catholics who are known to be strongly influenced by the hierarchy. And when McCarthy got into a jam and needed "proof" about Lattimore, it was the star witness of the Catholic Church and its paid agent, Louis Budenz, who was sent to his rescue.

Why did Chavez feel called upon to try to dissociate Budenz and the Catholic Church? Chavez is an old-time New Dealer and an ardent supporter of the Truman administration. Did he feel that the hierarchy's connection with the McCarthy affair was raising resentment inside Democratic Party circles and injuring the Catholic wing in that party? Was there pressure on him about the hierarchy's activities?

**Whatever his motives, Chavez has been roundly abused for his pains by the hierarchy. And his complaint against Budenz is greatly weakened by the fact that the Truman administration itself accepted and used Budenz as an informer and star witness in the Foley Square trial of the Communist Party leaders and that he has been a chief stoolpigeon against the Communist Party for the FBI.**

Last year, when Cardinal Spellman viciously smeared Eleanor Roosevelt on the question of public aid to parochial schools, the Catholic hierarchy gave an intimation of the type of character assassination it will resort to against any person, however high or prominent in public life, who opposes its political aims and policies.

Is the hierarchy now using the McCarthy smear campaign, although in less open fashion, to warn the Truman administration and anybody else in Washington of what they can expect if they don't carry out the political line of the Vatican on China or any other place?

**This is one of the most ominous aspects of the whole McCarthy affair. It is one that should put the American people still more on guard against this entire witch-hunt drive, which was initiated by the Truman administration itself through its "cold war" propaganda, "loyalty" purges and frame-up trials, and has now been turned against its very sponsors.**

# 6 Branches Are Ahead Of Schedule on Fund

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

**The three-month campaign of The Militant to raise a $10,000 fund has reached the one-third mark. Receipts of $545 during the week brought the total received up to $1,984. This is 20% of the goal. While contributions were better than last week, the national campaign is thirteen points behind schedule.**

**Flint Branch** continues to hold first place as pace-setter in the campaign with 78% of its $175 quota. "We're jogging right along in this campaign," writes **Comrade Genora**, "but we're not looking for praise — we're looking for competition if any takers can be found."

**Flint Branch** is way out in front, but considerable ground was covered by several other branches. If these branches maintain this week's pace, there's no telling which will come in first.

**West Virginia** hit a good stride and is running right behind Flint.

**Pittsburgh Branch** is crowding West Virginia. **Comrade Carl** says: "This $10 payment will bring us to the half-way mark. We expect to be among the first ten to complete the quota so we'll receive the Militant Chorus recording award." Perhaps Pittsburgh Branch is the competition Flint is asking for.

**Connecticut** and **Newark** branches are tied with 43% for fourth place.

**Toledo Branch**, in fifth place, is ahead of schedule in the campaign with 40% of its quota and **New York Local** is right on schedule with 32%.

**Milwaukee Branch** jumped out of the zero column to 19%. **Comrade Virginia** tells us how the branch accomplished this: "We cleared $54 on our May Day meeting and social and decided at our branch meeting to split the proceeds between the Militant Fund and our back debts."

Six branches pulled out of the zero column this week. It seems that column is fast becoming unpopular.

Three "old friends" of **The Militant** helped boost the General total to $90. **J. M. B. of Seattle, Wash.** sent in a $5 contribution. The other friend who wishes to remain anonymous contributed $20.

**W. E. B., Portland, Oregon, has** contributed $5 to the Militant Fund. This meant a personal sacrifice on his part because he "just got out of the hospital" and hasn't worked for many months.

## MILITANT FUND SCOREBOARD

| Branch | Quota | Paid | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Flint | $ 175 | $ 137 | 78 |
| West Virginia | 25 | 13 | 52 |
| Pittsburgh | 150 | 75 | 50 |
| Connecticut | 35 | 15 | 43 |
| Newark | 350 | 150 | 43 |
| Toledo | 50 | 20 | 40 |
| New York | 2,500 | 800 | 32 |
| Oakland | 100 | 25 | 25 |
| Buffalo | 400 | 83 | 21 |
| St. Paul-Minneapolis | 750 | 152 | 20 |
| Milwaukee | 150 | 29 | 19 |
| Boston | 175 | 30 | 17 |
| Chicago | 350 | 60 | 17 |
| Worcester | 30 | 5 | 17 |
| Philadelphia | 300 | 46 | 15 |
| Akron | 75 | 10 | 13 |
| Allentown | 40 | 5 | 13 |
| Los Angeles | 1,300 | 150 | 12 |
| San Francisco | 700 | 69 | 10 |
| Youngstown | 350 | 20 | 6 |
| Cleveland | 250 | 0 | 0 |
| Detroit | 800 | 0 | 0 |
| Lynn | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| St. Louis | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Seattle | 150 | 0 | 0 |
| General | 695 | 90 | 13 |
| Total through May 16 | $10,000 | $1,984 | 20 |

# Murray Offers Steel Convention No Real Program

(Continued from Page 1)

**action. The long-term contract Murray foisted on the steel workers last November removes the union-shop question as a strike issue until January 1952.**

Murray, in his printed report, correctly warned that mass unemployment threatens, despite the recent reported increase in employment, because of the lag between production and purchasing power. He even berated the steel billionaires for their "lack of confidence" in their own profit system and assured the delegates he himself "did not share these fears." But he offered no effective program to combat unemployment, such as the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay.

This convention was no less permeated with the "cold war" policy of the U. S. State Department than previous ones. Indeed, this is the dominant factor underlying Murray's policies. But there was less of the open and rabid red-baiting that characterized the previous convention, when Murray was preparing the build-up for the expulsion of the Stalinists and Stalinist-led unions from the CIO.

Murray complained about "certain employers" who are making "secret deals" with the "Communists" in order to get out of making concessions to "good American unions." This was an alibi for Murray's failure to lead an effective fight for better conditions. But it was also an admission that his own red-baiting and bureaucratic expulsions of his Stalinist opponents didn't win the favors from the employers that he had hoped for. It has only weakened and split the CIO.

### ON LABOR UNITY

**No opportunity was given the delegates to express their views on the kind of labor unity they want proposed in the forthcoming unity negotiations between the CIO and AFL, which Murray announced are scheduled to begin late in June. It was clear that Murray wanted no discussion on this vital question, thus strengthening the suspicion that he is approaching the matter strictly from the standpoint of safeguarding and enhancing the interests and powers of the union bureaucracy, rather than securing a unity designed to increase the militancy and fighting power of organized labor.**

The only thing the Murray machine offered that could be called a program of action was a call to the union's million members to "take the offensive against Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans" and try to get more Trumanite Democrats elected to Congress this fall.

For the most part, the delegates listened apathetically to the repeated exhortations to get PAC dollars and PAC votes. Jack Kroll, PAC director, speaking on the last day of the convention, could hardly be heard above the buzz of conversation.

The message that would have electrified and inspired them — the message that the Murray leadership is doing everything to prevent them from hearing — would have been a call to build their own party, a labor party in which America's 16 million organized workers, together with their families and allies, could rally to drive the monopolists and their agents out of Washington.

# LABOR'S FEARS AROUSED BY REACTIONARY TREND

(Cont. from page 1)

**precinct where a public office is at stake."**

The May 5 **Weekly News Service** of the AFL says "there is no reason to underestimate the magnitude of Senator Pepper's defeat" which means that "organized labor is one vote farther away from repeal of the Taft-Hartley law than ever..."

The impact of the recent events has brought some bitter reactions, expressed in part by declarations of "third party" sentiment. At the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor convention in Philadelphia on May 10, Richard J. Gray, national president of the AFL Building and Construction Trades Department, declared that if both the Republican and Democratic Parties continued to refuse to heed labor's wishes that labor would have to form a third party. In the meantime, he urged the workers to vote "for the man and not for the party."

### THIRD PARTY TALK

**Alex Rose, New York Liberal Party leader and newly elected president of the AFL Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers, at that union's convention called for the immediate formation of a third political party on a national scale. He termed the two-party system "a myth" and said that there is now "virtually one political party, with irregulars on each side." He asked: "What further evidence do we need than the returns from Florida, which show that a Democratic candidate in a Democratic party primary can win on Senator Taft's Republican program?"**

The thing wrong with this statement is that the candidate who defeated Pepper, Rep. George Smathers, won on a program that is just as much the Democrats' as the Republicans'. Race-baiting and red-baiting is the traditional program of the Democratic Party, even if not written openly into its program. Pepper himself ran as an avowed opponent of FEPC. The Fair Deal administration that he supports is the author of the "cold war" program and "loyalty" purge that has made the "red" smear the chief weapon of political reaction in this country.

**For all his talk about "immediate" formation of a "third party," Rose wound up by urging his union to work with AFL's Labor League for Political Education "in its drive for pro-labor candidates of both parties"—that is, in the old racket of conning workers into voting for capitalist party candidates whom union leaders label "friends of labor."**

### CAN'T DEPEND ON THEM

We cannot expect labor leaders like Rose to give any real political leadership to the American workers. But they confirm the bankruptcy of the policy, which the labor leaders have been pursuing, of supporting capitalist parties and capitalist party candidates. Or rather, they cannot conceal this bankruptcy any longer.

American workers do need a "third party"—a party of their own, a labor party. Every event in Washington points up the swindle of the capitalist two-party system and the folly of placing labor's interests at the mercy of either the Democratic or Republican machines.

**But labor's own party will not be built if it is left up to the old-line union bureaucrats. They have had long practice in bewailing the "betrayal" of labor by those whom these same union leaders called on labor to support. They are very adept at finding new "friends of labor" or whitewashing the old ones who will kick labor in the teeth after each election.**

If the workers are to have a party of their own, they will have to build it themselves. They will have to raise the demand for a labor party in every union organization. They will have to light a fire under every top union official. The ranks will have to take the initiative and the lead. They have no other course. To continue in the old path will lead to the complete triumph of reaction and the destruction of organized labor.

# Letters from Readers

## Contract Changes Are Main Need, Says GM Worker

**Editor:**

Fleetwood Fisher Body, like GM plants throughout the country, is operating at near capacity. This plant turns out bodies for Cadillac, the top-priced General Motors car. It is the general opinion of Fleetwood workers that the production of over 400 Cadillacs per day are not being sold, but rather are being built in preparation for a long strike. A strike in Fleetwood and the other GM plants is regarded as a certainty if the UAW is to win its present demands.

The 100-day Chrysler strike is a grim reminder of the GM strike of 1946 which lasted 113 days. In spite of the hardships of a long strike the Fleetwood workers will support it whole-heartedly if they are convinced that as a result they will have a good contract and improved working conditions. Contract changes have long been uppermost in the minds of Fleetwood workers. With the hiring of several hundred Chrysler, Dodge and Briggs workers into the Fleetwood plant there is redoubled agitation for contract changes.

These newly-hired workers express the feeling that they are working in a non-union shop. They complain bitterly of the amount of work required of them in Fleetwood as compared to what they did in Dodge, Chrysler or Briggs. What is more, these new workers are being told to get it or get out. Many have been fired. Others have quit in disgust.

Old and new workers alike complain of the difficulty in getting relief so that they can go to the toilet. Too often there is no reliefman. In that case the foreman works on the job until the man gets back. The most common remark of the new worker is, "I have worked in every body plant in the city but conditions here are the worst of any."

One Dodge worker commented, "I never worked in a place before where the workers were afraid to talk to each other during working hours." Many of the new workers ask, "Where is the steward?" The reply is that under the present GM contract there are no stewards. In other body plants, gloves are furnished wherever needed by the worker. Not so in Fleetwood. The worker must buy his own.

Although Fleetwood is one of the older GM plants, and so has many old employees with long seniority, the UAW pension plans are not popular even with these old timers. Most of the workers express nothing but contempt for the Ford pension plan and the other plans patterned after it. There would be little support for a strike on the pension issue alone.

Negotiations between the UAW and GM began several weeks ago. The Fleetwood workers are entirely dependent on the capitalist press for reports on negotiations. Since the union shop elections were held in February not a handbill has been issued nor a meeting of the local held to discuss the issues or to inform the membership.

There is no question but what the Fleetwood workers will support strike action. However it is becoming increasingly urgent that the UAW start publicizing the issues in dispute. It should be made crystal clear to the Fleetwood workers that a serious effort is being made to rewrite the contract in favor of the union and its members. The issues of the union shop and the pension plan should be kept in the background until an improved contract has been agreed upon.

J. R.
Detroit, Mich.

## Disputes Article on Haymarket Victim, Louis Lingg

**Editor:**

The article in the April 24 Militant states that "Lingg committed suicide." There is no conclusive proof that this is true, and the circumstances of his death strongly indicate, quite to the contrary, that he was brutally murdered in his prison cell by police or other agents of the apparatus.

His public defiance and contempt of the rotten, murderous court and the system which it served as expressed in his statement to the court at the time of his sentence — "I despise you! I despise your order, your laws, your force-propped authority! Hang me for it!" — could easily have provided the motivation for a revenge even more horrifying than the death by hanging to which he and his comrades were formally sentenced.

I therefore feel that we should cease to lend credence or to give further currency to this lie, for in any event the court murdered Lingg just as surely as it murdered Parsons, Spies, Fischer and Engel, the actual manner of death, whatever it was, notwithstanding.

W. E. B.
Minneapolis, Minn.

* * *

**ED. NOTE:** The consensus of historical opinion is that Louis Lingg committed suicide in his death cell, although of course it can no longer be proved. W.E.B. is correct in noting that whether this is correct or not, the capitalist witch-hunters of the 1880's bear the responsibility for his death.

# THE MILITANT ARMY

The growing readiness of students to take a look at the socialist press is indicated by the following experience reported by Literature Agent **Winifred Nelson** of St. Paul.

She and **Bill K.** decided to try selling **The Militant** on a university campus. "We didn't expect much. We thought maybe we'd sell a few. But we took 20 **Militants** to the campus and disposed of every one! And this between two changes of classes. We actually sold 18 with not too great an effort. We gave two away to students who couldn't find any money in their pockets."

Among the reactions, some were extremely friendly, writes Winifred. "A socialist paper?" said one student. "Well, I'm a socialist; sure I'll buy one, but I don't think we're doing very well these days, do you?"

Another young student told Bill he had read the Stalinist magazine, the **Masses and Mainstream**, but didn't think much of it and would like to read **The Militant**. Some of the students were already acquainted with the Socialist Workers Party and **The Militant**.

"One student was surprised that we had such a good position on the witch-hunt, particularly the persecution of the Communist Party. He thought that likely we would take the same position toward the Stalinists as they had toward the Trotskyists who were railroaded to prison for opposing the war. When I assured him we really believed in civil rights for all, he was impressed!"

Another student said, "No." But his girl friend said, "Well, I'll buy one!" He turned to her accusingly, "Are you a socialist?" She answered, no, but she wanted to read what we had to say.

The headlines of **The Militant** helped with their opposition to the witch-hunt, unemployment and war. Students readily said, "Well, I'm against all that. I'll buy your paper."

After this encouraging response, Winifred tried it again with the following week's bundle. This time she went alone, taking only nine papers and sold out "in a short time."

On her third try, she took 20 copies and again sold out in short order.

Spurred by these results on the campus, a couple of comrades tried selling single copies to shopmates and met with a similar welcome. The combined campus and shop sales during the three-week period put the St. Paul literature department nicely in the black.

Winifred believes that it is former work in this area and particularly on the campus that is paying off. "Many people know us, are friendly and buy. The witch-hunt and the ridiculous lengths to which it has gone helps too. I had one fellow tell me yesterday that he was for anything 'subversive'! And many say, 'Well, it's about time we heard from the socialists.'"

**This experience is an instructive one. It shows what can be done with initiative and enthusiasm. It shows that The Militant meets a genuine need on the campus. Now let's hear from other literature agents on what is being done to get the paper into the hands of students.**

## One Doctor for Every 750 Persons in This Country

The United States now has 201,278 doctors, or one for every 750 inhabitants, according to the American Medical Association.

## Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

**AKRON**—For information, write P.O. Box 1342.

**BOSTON**—Worker's Educational Center, 10 Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-9:00 p.m., social last Sat. of month.

**BUFFALO**—Militant Forum, 625 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MAdison 3960. Every afternoon except Sun.

**CHICAGO**—166 W. Washington Street, Rm. 312-314. Tel. Dearborn 2-4767.

**CLEVELAND** — Every Sunday, 8 p.m., Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Pk. Ave.)

**DETROIT**—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-0267, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m.

**FLINT**—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.

**LOS ANGELES**—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8061.

**LYNN, (Mass.)**—Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p.m.

**MILWAUKEE**—817 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone Hopkins 2-5337.

**MINNEAPOLIS**—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Library, bookstore.

**NEW HAVEN**—For information write, P.O. Box No. 1019.

**NEWARK**—423 Springfield Ave.

**NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)**—116 University Place. Phone GR 5-8149.

**HARLEM**—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23 Phone MO 2-1866. Open discussion. Thurs., 8 p.m.

**BROOKLYN** — Mandel's Manor, 343 Pennsylvania Ave., off Sutter, meetings every Thurs. evening at 8.

**CHELSEA**—130 W. 23rd St. Phone AL 5-2488.

YOUTH GROUP N. Y. — 130 W. 23rd St., meets Thurs. 8 p.m.

**OAKLAND (Cal.)** ---- For information, phone TEmplebar 2-8153 or TEmplebar 2-3735, or write P. Montauk, 906-B Cypress St., Oakland 7.

**PHILADELPHIA** — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open every Friday evening.

**SAN FRANCISCO**—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m.

**ST. LOUIS** --- "For information, phone PR 5305."

**SEATTLE**—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., R. 201, So. of Washington. Tel. Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meeting Tues., 7:30 p.m. Library, bookstore.

**TOLEDO** — Address inquiries to Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 1502, Toledo 3.

**WORCESTER, (Mass.)** — For information write P.O. Box 554, Worcester.

**YOUNGSTOWN** — 234 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 6 p.m.

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# THE MILITANT

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TROTSKY

"While Marxism teaches that class relations arise in the process of production and that these relations correspond to a certain level of productive forces; while Marxism further teaches that all forms of ideology, and, first and foremost, politics correspond to class relations, this does not at all mean that between politics, class groupings and production there exist simple mechanical relations, calculable by the four rules of arithmetic. On the contrary, the reciprocal relations are extremely complex. It is possible to interpret dialectically the course of a country's development, including its revolutionary development, only by proceeding from the action, reaction and interaction of all the material and superstructural factors, national and world-wide alike, and not through superficial juxtapositions, or through formal analogies."

—Leon Trotsky, First 5 Years of Comintern, 1919.

LENIN

## Help Free Hippe and Haas

We have received reliable information about the fate of Oskar Hippe, veteran German revolutionary socialist, who together with Walter Haas has been subjected to savage persecution at the hands of Stalin's secret police and tribunals, after both of them had undergone similar treatment at the hands of Hitler's Gestapo.

After having been arrested and beaten publicly in the headquarters of the "German Economic Council" in Berlin and then spirited away, fifty-year old Oskar Hippe, who fought as a Spartacist under Liebknecht and Luxemburg, has been sentenced by a Russian court to 25 years in a forced-labor camp "for anti-Soviet activities and the building up of an underground movement." This information came in a hand-written message that Stalin's executioners failed to intercept.

Walter Haas, whom Nazi judges condemned to prison for "high treason" for his underground wartime activities, has suffered a similar fate.

While Stalin and his agents deal so ruthlessly with irreproachable socialist fighters like Hippe and Haas, they pursue an entirely different policy with respect to such avowed enemies of labor as the Nazis. These they ardently woo.

Only the other day the Soviet note on Berlin elections went out of its way to assure them of their "voting rights" or, as the official text reads, "to lay down a regulation which grants voting rights to the former members of the Nazi party and other Nazi organizations with the exception of those who were deprived of their voting rights by court decision."

Hippe and Haas face almost certain death in the hands of the utterly cynical and corrupt Stalinist leaders unless world public opinion, which even these despots cannot always afford to ignore comes to their aid.

Farrell Dobbs, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, has recently appealed to all labor and liberal organizations and individuals really concerned with the preservation of civil and labor rights to come to the aid of these two German anti-fascists.

There has been a response, but hardly an adequate one. We take this opportunity to again stress the urgent need of action on this case.

Letters and resolutions of protest are by no means meaningless formalities. Each one counts. They should be sent to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, and to the Socialist Unity Party (SED), the party which is now in power in Eastern Germany, and to the editor of **Neues Deutschland** in Berlin, the official newspaper of the SED.

## Murray's Warning on Unemployment

It is gratifying to note that CIO President Philip Murray is not peddling Truman's propaganda about unemployment being a declining threat. On the contrary, Murray told the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Convention on May 16, the unemployment situation is far more dangerous than even many union leaders realize.

He said that unemployment is growing at the rate of a million persons a year. "Five million (jobless) is menacing," asserted Murray. "Six million is dangerous. Seven million is depression, unemployment and more unemployment. Eleven million is riots and bloodshed." By 1956, even without a decline in total production there will be 11 million unemployed.

We can only underscore Murray's warning. For the past several years, in fact, we have repeatedly urged the labor movement to prepare in advance for unemployment and take immediate action to provide the greatest measure of protection for the workers against unemployment.

But Murray has limited himself primarily to describing the menace. He has not offered an effective program against it. Least of all a specific program of action. He has talked in broad generalities about "all of organized labor joining" to do something about unemployment. But he doesn't say precisely what — unless it is to campaign more vigorously for Trumanite Democrats in the coming Congressional elections.

At his own steel workers convention two weeks ago, Murray failed even to propose the elementary demand that was advanced back in 1939 by the CIO and AFL unions for a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay. Certainly, anyone who is serious about protecting the jobs and living standards of the workers would advance this demand with all possible vigor.

This demand was put forward at the Amalgamated Clothing Workers convention, but was modified at the insistence of ACW President Jacob S. Potofsky, Murray's close ally, to a plea for Truman to seek national legislation to limit the work-week to 35 hours. Murray voiced accord with this.

A 35-hour week at corresponding reduction in take-home pay will not provide jobs for the 11 million unemployed that Murray anticipates. Besides, reliance on Truman to push through such a measure is wish-thinking if not downright deception. The 30-hour week with no reduction in take-home pay is the least that is required. And militant nation-wide united action by labor is the only way in which it can be won.

## Teacher Attacks Students

Among the most shameful attacks on the New York high school student strikers was the one made by President John M. Eklund on behalf of the AFL American Federation of Teachers.

Eklund not only displayed base ingratitude toward the students' bold support of the New York teachers' wage demands — he also, in effect, sought to discourage other sections of the population from intervening to help the teachers by militant action.

"The AFT has always been effective in doing its own negotiating with boards of education, and when pupils leave school on their own initiative to demonstrate even for as vital an issue as salary increases for teachers, the best interest of teachers, pupils and public are not being served," said Eklund as quoted in the May 9 **AFT Weekly News Service.**

"It has been the policy of the AFT to solve all problems concerning our public schools on a cooperative basis with the duly elected community boards," he continued. "We view with alarm the irresponsible actions of students moving into an area which is specifically our concern. Such action as that taken by high school students in New York City prevents agreeable and satisfactory solution."

That is the voice of a conservative union bureaucrat trying to curry favor with the boards of education and the corrupt political machines that dominate them.

It does not express the sentiments of most teachers, who certainly would not agree that the conservative methods of the AFT have been "effective" in winning them the wage raises they want, need and deserve.

Nor will teachers, students or the public in general accept Eklund's attempt to make it appear that teachers' wage scales are a concern exclusively of the AFT or even the teachers as a whole — which other groups have no business butting into.

Like all the other attacks on the student demonstrations, this one reeks of the most reactionary implications. Starting out as an attack on the students, it quickly develops into the contention that teachers don't want or need outside help in their fight for better conditions. We ask the teachers (who have already too long been at the mercy of the boards of education) if, from the viewpoint of their own interests, anything could be more "irresponsible" than that?

# Two Foes Who Pose As Yugoslavia's 'Friends'

By George Breitman

**Those who want to help Yugoslavia retain its independence from U.S. imperialism as well as the Kremlin oppressors should keep a vigilant eye on the current maneuvers and writings of people like Irving Brown and Ruth Fischer. For these and other labor and Social Democratic peddlers of the State Department's wares have opened up a campaign whose obvious aim is to accomplish what the imperialist diplomats have not been able to do — that is, bring the Yugoslavs into the imperialist camp.**

Brown, a former Lovestoneite, is the top AFL representative in Europe. Last week's **Militant** reported that he had told the French paper **Le Figaro** that the unions in the U.S. support Yugoslavia's fight for independence from the Kremlin and do not favor the restoration of the old regime of exploitation in Yugoslavia. He added that he would like to visit Yugoslavia to make an on-the-spot examination of the economic situation there.

At first glance, this looks like a good and long-overdue development. We think Brown was telling the truth when he said American unionists are sympathetic to the Yugoslav struggle for independence. But we know that he never asked them for their opinion on this matter, and that the AFL bureaucrats who employ Brown have never even allowed them to discuss this question at their conventions or other gatherings. Knowing Brown and the other AFL bureaucrats, we conclude that the initiative for his statement came from the State Department.

### BROWN'S MAIN JOB

**Brown's activities in Europe are not based on the interests of either the American or European workers. His main job there is helping to split unions that are Stalinist-dominated and to convince the European workers that U.S. imperialism is their best friend. It is not the welfare of Yugoslavia that motivates him now, but the desire to manipulate and utilize its struggle for independence for the benefit of his State Department masters.**

If Brown goes to Yugoslavia, he will most likely be treated as other visitors have been. If at the conclusion of his trip he expresses sympathy for their struggle, the Yugoslavs should thank him and voice the hope that he will make similar speeches to the American workers, calling on them to express their solidarity with their Yuogslav brothers against all who would subvert their independence. If he offers aid, they should express their willingness to accept it on the same basis they have accepted other aid—namely, that no political strings must be attached to the aid. In short, they should treat Brown, despite his AFL credentials, essentially as they would treat any other emissary from the State Department.

### FISCHER'S LINE

**While Brown is taking this tack in Europe, Ruth Fischer is busy back in the U.S. working at the other part of the "softening-up" operation, which is to convince the imperialists that they have much to gain if they play their cards right in their dealings with the Yugoslavs and other rebels against Kremlin domination.**

The May 8 issue of **Life** magazine features a long lurid article by Ruth Fischer: "Conspiracy Inside Communism, Onetime Party Favorite Explains That Titoism Was And Is An International Revolt Against Stalin," written in the sensational manner that is typical of most renegades from Marxism to the service of imperialism by way of Social Democracy. Her account of the crisis of Stalinism — gained, she assures **Life's** readers, "from a lifetime spent close to Communism," and heavily larded with speculation and gossip—is not worth serious attention. But its political aim is. Her final remarks are:

"For the West, there is a promise of peace and victory in facing the facts [about the revolt against Stalinism within various Communist Parties], and in using them. The exact nature of that promise must be accurately appraised. It would, for example, be an extravagant error to assume that the West may rest and relax while the Soviet world preys upon itself. . ." **That is, the imperialists must act.**

"A wise West will also shed all fuzzy illusions about the nature of anti-Stalinist Communists: they are not 'agrarian reformers' or 'industrial reformers' but convinced and determined Communists. To know them for what they are is imperative in order to deal with them for what they may become! . ." **That is, the imperialists must act in such a way that the Yugoslav and other rebels will "become" something else than convinced and determined Communists" following a policy independent of imperialism.**

### REPEATS CP LIE

Then the article concludes with a paragraph that tells more about its author's politics and intentions toward Yugoslavia than the rest of the article put together:

"A West that thus knows what is doing can proceed to the knowledge that—in a paradoxical way—there was truth in the Soviet charges against Tito, Rajk and the tens of thousands of other 'American agents.' Whether they wish it or not, men soon become effective 'American agents' when they seek machine tools to make their nation strong, and instead get MVD terror to divide and cripple their people. In this sense the Communist world today holds hundreds of thousands of men whose dream of revolution—however warped—is closer to the industrial freedom of the U.S. than the primitive tyranny of the Soviet Union."

There are almost as many lies there as words. Like the imperialists (and like the Stalinists too, for different reasons) Fischer wants Tito and his collaborators to be "American agents." And so she subscribes to the lie that those who break with and resist Stalinist domination automatically become such agents, "whether they wish it or not."

**Of course Fischer did not invent this lie, which is of certified Stalinist origin and represents the biggest weapon in the Kremlin's arsenal against the Yugoslavs and others who would follow in their path. Wittingly or not, her circulation of this lie gives grist to the Stalinist propaganda mill whose chief theme in Europe, where imperialism is hated and feared, is: "Reject us, and you will necessarily become an agent of imperialism—there is no other choice."**

### WHAT YUGOSLAVS PROVE

But the great significance of Yugoslavia is that it is showing there is another choice. The Yugoslav CP has not moved any 'closer' to imperialism as a result of its break with the Kremlin. That is why "Titoism" enjoys so much sympathy in Yugoslavia, in Europe and undoubtedly in the Soviet Union as well.

The Yugoslavs are proving that despite great obstacles it is possible to fight under the banner of independence and socialism without becoming a tool of either reactionary camp. That is why they represent such a thorn in the side of Stalin, who would not have to worry about them much if he could really convince the European masses that they are agents of capitalism.

**Thus, in the name of advocating more aid for the Yugoslavs, Fischer combats the very thing they are fighting for, denies the very goal that they affirm, strives to compromise and discredit the very principles they uphold and try to spread. "Friends" like Ruth Fischer and Irving Brown can do the Yugoslav cause as much harm in their own way as the Stalinists.**

# KREMLIN ORDERED WFTU EXPULSION, YUGOSLAV TRADE UNIONS CHARGE

**Several months ago the Secretariat of the Stalinist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions expelled from the WFTU Executive Committee Djuro Salaj, Chairman of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation. Salaj had been elected to the Executive Committee at the last world congress of the WFTU, that is, prior to Stalin's unleashing of his "cold war" against Yugoslavia.**

The tactics employed by the Kremlin against Yugoslavia bear a striking resemblance to those followed by the American imperialists against the Stalinists themselves. The expulsion of Djuro Salaj — or the "severance of relations," as it was diplomatically worded — came as a component part of Stalin's campaign to isolate the Yugoslavs by driving them out of all international bodies or their affiliates under the Kremlin's thumb.

### "GROSS VIOLATION"

Time and again the Yugoslav unions have vainly protested against Salaj's expulsion, requesting a reversal of the decision. Finally, at a conference of the Yugoslav unions in Belgrade last month, the delegates unanimously adopted a memorandum addressed to the WFTU Executive Committee, the affiliated federations, all other trade union organizations and to all the workers of the world.

**The memorandum points out that the expulsion of Salaj, which actually means the expulsion of the Yugoslav federation itself, was an act of usurpation by the WFTU Secretariat — "an arbitrary act and a violation of the letter and spirit of the statutes on which the entire activity of the WFTU is based."**

At the same time the Secretariat decision was also "a gross violation of the autonomy of the national organizations which compose the WFTU, an autonomy guaranteed by the WFTU statutes."

The memorandum goes on to affirm that "only the workers of Yugoslavia and not the secretariat of the WFTU are qualified to elect their leadership and to decide on who shall represent the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation in the WFTU and in the world trade union movement."

**The WFTU Secretariat is flatly charged with "having placed itself openly in the service of the leaders of the Soviet Union who are carrying out a policy of coercion against Yugoslavia with a view of destroying the sovereignty and national independence of the Federated People's Republic of Yugoslavia."**

The memorandum next states that "the severance of relations with Comrade Salaj is in fact a severance of relations with the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation and is a direct attack on all the trade union organizations and the entire working class of Yugoslavia."

The Yugoslav union conference reiterated its adherence to "those principles on which any genuine world labor organization must be based," namely: full equality of all members; the principle of respect for the autonomy of every member federation; the principle of a policy rallying all workers on as broad a basis as possible, "regardless of race, religion or political convictions"; and, finally, the principle that the "World Federation may serve the interest of no single power, but solely the interests of the international working class, as expressed by the delegates of all federation member bodies, at regular congresses of the Federation."

### RELATIONS SEVERED

The memorandum formally severed relations with the WFTU Secretariat "until such a time as the Executive Committee restores normal, constitutional methods."

**According to the latest dispatches the Executive Council of the Yugoslav Trade Unions has decided to break with the WFTU, but will not join any other existing international labor organization, that is, the rival International Confederation of Free Trade Unions that has been organized under the auspices of the American and Western imperialists.**

### Debs and Dennis — Another 'Daily Worker' Falsification

When Eugene Dennis was sent to jail for "contempt" of Congress last week, the **Daily Worker** ran his picture beside one of Eugene V. Debs, and said they had both been sent to prison for opposing war. It forgot to mention a little difference — Debs opposed all imperialist wars while Dennis was a recruiting sergeant for U. S. imperialism in World War II.

### No. 2 Leader of W. German CP Is Expelled as "Titoist"

Kurt Mueller was expelled from the Communist Party in Western Germany last week and arrested by the Stalinist-controlled police in Eastern Germany as a "Titoist," "enemy agent," "saboteur," etc. He was a deputy in the Bonn Parliament, and second in rank in the CP only to Max Reimann, who denounced him and demanded his expulsion.

Mueller had been arrested by the Gestapo in 1934 and spent 11 years in Nazi concentration camps. According to one report, he was kidnapped into the Eastern zone after his expulsion; according to another, he went there voluntarily to appeal for a reversal of the West German CP's expulsion decision.

# POST OFFICE 'ECONOMY' -- FOR WHOSE BENEFIT?

By Robert Phillips

**In March 1949 Postmaster General Jesse Donaldson at the hearings before the House Committee on the Post Office and Civil Service opposed curtailments on postal deliveries. Yet just one year later, on April 18, 1950, the same Donaldson ordered the reductions which he had earlier stated would not be in the public interest. Unless Donaldson is stopped, more than 10,000 postal workers will lose their jobs in the next few months, "saving" an estimated $25 million to $30 million annually. This "economy" is to be imposed despite the fact that each post office worker handles 8% more pieces of mail and a 31% heavier load today than ten years ago.**

Behind this cut, which also means an increased and inhuman speed-up in the post office, stands a most incredible and fantastic tissue of subsidies and free services which are largely camouflaged in the half-billion dollar postal debt for the fiscal year 1949.

Nearly $150 million of this $500 million deficit resulted from such free service to Congressmen, Senators, the President and Government departments and agencies as "penalty mail," free registry and franked mail and an open whopping subsidy of more than $50 million to air carriers for air mail. Even the Hoover Commission stated that "subsidies, such as those paid to commercial air lines in the guise of air mail pay, should not be charged to the postal service." To this day, nobody knows just what it costs the air shipper to transport air mail and exactly how much of this admittedly blind subsidy is represented by over-payment. And these air mail subsidies have been paid for twenty years now! In addition, the railroads were recently granted a 25% increase for carrying the mails (and are asking for 40% more) by the Interstate Commerce Commission. This took place before the Commission had determined their costs for carrying the mails and in spite of the fact that, as Donaldson stated, "the post office used about half of the railroad space that we paid for."

### *Subsidizing the Big Publishers*

These above-mentioned "services" and "subsidies" are only appetizers. The real big ones are hidden by under-charging on postal rates. The Post Office Department incurred a loss of $207 million in 1949 on second-class mail alone for the benefit of large newspaper and magazine publishers; a loss of $129 million on third-class mail for circular and advertising matter, and a deficit of $82 million for fourth class (parcel post) mail. The only mail which paid for itself was first class mail — to the tune of more than $100 million profit in 1949. It was incidentally increased to 3c in order — alone — to bear the burden for a $200 million postal deficit in 1932. And first class mail is letter mail — the form used extensively by the public. Second-class mail hasn't had an increase in rates for 100 years and is still subject to the antiquated law of 1879.

**When Donaldson stated, "I can see no reason why the Post Office Department should subsidize the businesses using the mails," the private publishers dragged out the old bogey of the "freedom of the press." However, they couldn't deny that their papers and magazines were no longer devoted solely to informational and educational matter as contemplated by the postal law of 1879 but that instead they have become vast commercial enterprises primarily oriented on advertising matter. It was cited that advertising now takes up nearly 70% of newspaper and magazine space. Even differential postal rates, based on the amount of advertising matter in a publication, they said, would infringe on the "freedom of the press."**

The publishers did an abrupt about-face on post office operation; they denied ever having said that the post office was being run inefficiently. The same capitalist press which daily calls for government economy, a balanced budget, opposes subsidies benefiting large sections of the population had no trouble in advancing arguments in favor of subsidies for themselves and for a "healthy" post office deficit.

This same group stated that it had raised its rates — some publishers increased prices by as much as 200% over the pre-war level — and blandly admitted that they were now making more money than ever before in their history. But a postal rate increase, they chorused, would "put them out of business."

### *Raiding the Public Treasury*

And so on down the line. The advertisers who use 95 per cent of all penny postal cards, a service which they could not duplicate for 4c per piece, according to Donaldson, put in their wail. The book publishers said, "Leave us alone, and go ahead and increase the rates on catalogues, they are not paying enough." The catalogue people in turn said, "We were just increased the first of January (1949); make the magazines and the newspapers pay more." The direct mail users said, "Do not increase our rates, increase the 1st class letter mail," etc., etc.

**Sears Roebuck, which has turned "the poor man's communication system" into a freight system, piously pleaded that "the postal deficit is largely beyond the control of the Post Office Department," and alleged that the $82 million loss on parcel post was really no loss at all, it was just a mirage. They couldn't afford an increase in rates, asserted one of their big wigs, while stating that in 1948 Sears' over-all sales were $2.3 billion, their net income after taxes $140 million, and their postage charges the munificent total of $18 million.**

The whole story of double-dealing and raiding of the public treasury was capped by the widely-heralded Hoover Report on the reorganization of the executive branch of the government, which in effect suggested a speed-up system for Post Office operations. When one of its suggestions as to mechanical improvement was tested by a large manufacturer, Remington Rand, the latter stated: "It is impossible, it is impractical." And with this report in hand, the Hoover committee recommended instead a curtailed service (for "economy" purposes)!

Suggested rate increases of $250 million annually on commercial mail (the original purpose for the hearings) have been trimmed to $10 million today. And it is questionable whether even these will go through. The net result is that the airlines and the railroads continue to get ever-increasing subsidies, the publishers, the advertisers, the mail-order houses continue to ship at the expense of the public and the post office worker now is told to take the rap through dismissal and speed-up.

**In this way, the Truman administration keeps intact its record of talking big to Big Business but acting against the workers — from strikebreaking injunctions against miners, railroadmen and others right up to the brutal dismissals for the postal workers.**


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# THE MILITANT

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## Oscar Coover

By Chester K. Johnson

I first came to know Oscar Coover in the summer of 1926, when I joined Local 292 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers as an apprentice wireman. I recall that, if it wasn't at the meeting at which I was initiated, it was at a meeting very shortly thereafter, when the chairman recognized a member from the back of the union hall. A tall man in a dark suit, whom I thought the chairman addressed as "Brother Hoover," rose to speak.

He spoke very vigorously and one statement in his speech which I clearly remember is, "We ought to have a united front to win that strike in Gastonia." This turned out to be Brother Coover, and incidentally, it was several years later before I myself caught the significance of the important strike of textile workers which took place at Gastonia, North Carolina, at about that time, and about which Brother Coover was speaking.

But three or four more years had to pass before Brother Coover was again to make a lasting impression on me. It wasn't until depression days set in, when construction jobs were few and far apart, that wiremen, as well as others, began to sit up and look for answers to the intensified problem of unemployment. I remember Brother Coover taking the floor at union meetings and demanding that organized labor go for the 5-day, 30-hour week and for unemployment insurance. To the unemployed wiremen who were loafing the streets without jobs, and to me especially, this made real sense.

It was about this time, too, that I "discovered" the Soviet Union. I began to read stories about the successes of the first Five-Year Plan, where, among other things, under "socialism" unemployment was being "wiped out." Surely, this was just opposite from what was taking place under capitalism, and therefore merited closer examination. In the process, I began to become sympathetic toward the Communist Party, for, after all, was it not the Communist Party that was organizing unemployed councils right here in the United States of America, and leading the struggle for the demands of the unemployed?

At about this time, roughly the year 1931, Brother Coover intervened and for this I owe him my deepest appreciation. Had it not been for Oscar, I no doubt would have found my way into the ranks of the Communist Party because I was in a genuine mood to do something about unemployment and I thought the Communist Party had the answers. But Oscar spared me this experience, for which I am grateful in view of the continued degeneration which has taken place ever since in the Communist parties all over the world under Stalinist leadership. In a word, it was Oscar Coover who first introduced me to the principles and practices of scientific socialism.

In those days, I, like as not, could be found up at the union hall, waiting for a job. There I often ran into Oscar, who too was a victim of unemployment and a victim of employer discrimination because of his militant stand in the carrying out of trade union principles. One instance, in particular, I remember — he was fired on the big Post Office job because as a steward he tried to make the contractor live up to the union rules. While waiting for jobs, I would argue with Oscar in this fashion: "Another election in Germany and the Communists have made another gain, a few more elections and the Communists will be in control and unemployment will be licked there too, etc., etc." But Oscar said, "Don't be too sure. If the Stalinists don't change their line, the anti-communist and anti-labor figure, Adolph Hitler, is liable to win in Germany." I had never given this a thought before.

"You should read what Leon Trotsky has to say on the events in Germany," Oscar said. He gave me some pamphlets and he gave me some copies of a small paper called **The Militant.** I continued to read **The Militant.** As a matter of fact, I never quit reading **The Militant** from that time on. The articles on the German events seemed logical enough, but I held certain reservations that reaction could never triumph in Germany. However, when Hitler did triumph and smashed the German labor movement completely without the German Communist Party striking a single blow to stop him, I came to have genuine respect for Trotsky's thesis.

Oscar put some good reading material in my hands — the best! It calls upon the workers to build their own independent working class political party, and Oscar, by his deeds, set a shining example of how this should be done. I can only say to all trade unionists, you will do well to follow the example of Oscar Coover, for truly, here was a man of heroic mold cast in an heroic period that is woefully short of such men.

## GM Profits and Socialism

By Milton Alvin

Come hell or high water, it seems nothing carries on in this ever-changing world as prosperously as General Motors Corporation profits. The most successful business enterprise in capitalist history has just proudly released its earnings figures for the first three months of 1950 and, again, they surpass all previous records. Last year this colossus staggered home with 1 billion 400 millions in profits before taxes.

But it is doing even better this year. In the first three months, despite bad weather, floods, rising unemployment and all the other uncertainties of life, GM profits were $360 million before taxes. After taxes, a neat $212 million remains for dividends to the stockholders or to be added to the tremendous hoard this monopoly has accumulated through the years.

These figures deserve a closer study. Let us take the corporation's own statement, using round figures for convenience. According to GM, 436,000 people were on its payrolls in the first quarter of this year. This includes, of course, the high paid executives who draw hundreds of thousands of dollars each a year. But why quibble about that? Payrolls for the first quarter are reported at $404 million. The "average" earnings of each employee were, therefore, $925 or at the rate of $3,700 for the year. But when we recall that the big shots' whopping salaries are included in these averages, we can see that the factory and office workers did not do so well at all.

On the other hand, by dividing the total number of employees into the gross earnings we find that each GM employee produced $825 in profits for the company in the same three months. Looked at another way, each employee produced $1,750 in the three month period of which he did not receive more than $925 in wages, while the company bagged not less than $825 in profits. This $825 was divided into $2,486 for the company's coffers while $339, the remainder, went to various governments, mainly to pay for hot and cold wars. Truly a wonderful enterprise — from the standpoint of the handful of capitalists who own it!

Now consider for a moment what could be done here under Socialism with the plants and factories publicly owned and managed by elected committees of workers. First, the huge salaries of executives would be reduced to the level of the average pay earned in the plants. This would add a tidy sum to the general payroll. Second, the monstrously high tax figures which now absorb a part of the "profits" would be cut by at least three-quarters, adding a further large sum to each worker's pay. This would be possible under Socialism because the military budget, at present three-quarters of all federal expenditures, would eventually be eliminated entirely.

Thus, taking General Motors and its own figures as an example, we can readily see that under Socialism, even assuming the present rate of production, the pay of workers could rapidly be brought to at least around $5,000 a year. Actually, this would be substantially increased because under Socialism all available talents and techniques will be released to make a better life for everyone. In their own way, the GM figures make an excellent argument for Socialism.

## Liars on Unemployment

By John G. Wright

After admitting some five million jobless, Washington has reported a gain in employment of more than one and a third million and a proportionate decline in the number of jobless during the last two months. The official explanation is that this alleged March-April increase "was almost equally divided between additional jobs on the farms and in industry."

The actual fact, however, is that because of the vast technological changes, especially in the last few years, there are fewer and fewer jobs in both agriculture and industry. This is disclosed by the earlier official figures.

The peak year of farm employment was recorded in 1942, when there were 9¼ million in the agricultural labor force. Since then it has steadily declined, dropping by 1948 below 8 million, or a **loss of a million and a quarter jobs in this field alone.**

Last year it was admitted that for the first 4 months, the agricultural force dropped even below this figure. Moreover, the upswing in farming generally does not set in until May. Why then should there be more farming jobs in March-April 1950 than there were in the same months last year? In the space of the intervening twelve months more machinery has been introduced on farms and not less. The crops are reportedly not bigger but smaller than last year, with many important areas hit by drought. What then has suddenly reversed the trend by which increased mechanization of farming has been displacing farm workers last year, just as it has since 1942?

The answer is, of course, that no such reversal has taken place at all. On the contrary, there are less farm jobs. The officials in Washington are simply juggling figures to cover up the actual extent of unemployment in agriculture.

Technological unemployment, resulting from the same and even greater output with a declining labor force, has had its sharpest expression in industry. Factory employment — a Federal Reserve Board figure covering only production workers and related categories and including both full-time and part-time workers — averaged in 1948, a year of peak employment, some 12,717,000; last year the average was 11,597,000, or a loss of more than a million full-time and part-time production jobs.

And last year was still another record year of investment in new plants and new equipment, displacing still more workers. For the first months of this year factory employment has hovered at or below the 1949 level. No new jobs here!

Have the jobless then gone perhaps into transportation and public utilities which in 1948 employed over 4 million, but which declined below 4 million last year, and the first four months of this year? How could they? And the same holds true of the mining industry, where there are also fewer jobs today than last year or the year before, principally because of increased mechanization, greater productivity, speed-up, etc.

Contract construction, which has been booming, shows no marked increase in jobs over last year or the year before. These are the main fields of industrial employment.

The grim truth is that separate and apart from the fluctuations in economic life, the labor force in industry, as in farming, has been contracting and not expanding in the last few years, as the foregoing figures suffice to illustrate. The Washington officials are again simply juggling figures to cover up the actual extent of unemployment in industry. The total number of unemployed still remains at previous levels, that is, in the neighborhood of six million.

But it may be said that new jobs are opening up in fields other than agriculture and industry. Perhaps there has been a corresponding growth of those employed in "services," professions, in a word, among the so-called "new middle classes"? Even the liars in Washington do not claim this.

Ironically enough, the same Census Bureau that paints such an "encouraging" picture of employment in March-April, admits that in the space of a single month ending April 8, a half-million "persons entered the ranks of job seekers" — and, of course, found no new jobs open! These come from the ranks of the youth and many more are to come in June.

One of the most glaring factors in the existing situation is the overcrowding and glut that has manifested itself in the field of "services," technicians, professions, and the like. This alone will tend to expand the number of jobless in the next period.

## Reutherites Get Setback at Mich. CIO Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

post as secretary-treasurer by a vote of 2,799 to 942 for Oscar Noble of Pontiac Motor Division, UAW Local 653.

Although the administration was re-elected by a comfortable margin, this doesn't reveal the full story. The anti-administration vote was the largest registered since Walter Reuther took over the UAW-CIO. This is particularly significant because many UAW local unions were not represented at the convention. The Chrysler locals involved in a 100 day strike had refrained from sending delegates. In addition locals such as Budd Wheel Local 306 and Briggs Conner Local 742 decided to boycott the convention as an expression of opposition to the do-nothing policies of the Scholle administration. Many other locals likewise refrained from sending delegates.

**Another interesting sidelight which indicates a shifting sentiment even in the administration camp, was the defeat within their own caucus of an administration proposal to raise the per capita payments from 3 to 5 cents per member. The convention itself reflected the lack of spirit and enthusiasm within the administration camp which is in sharp contrast to the last few years.**

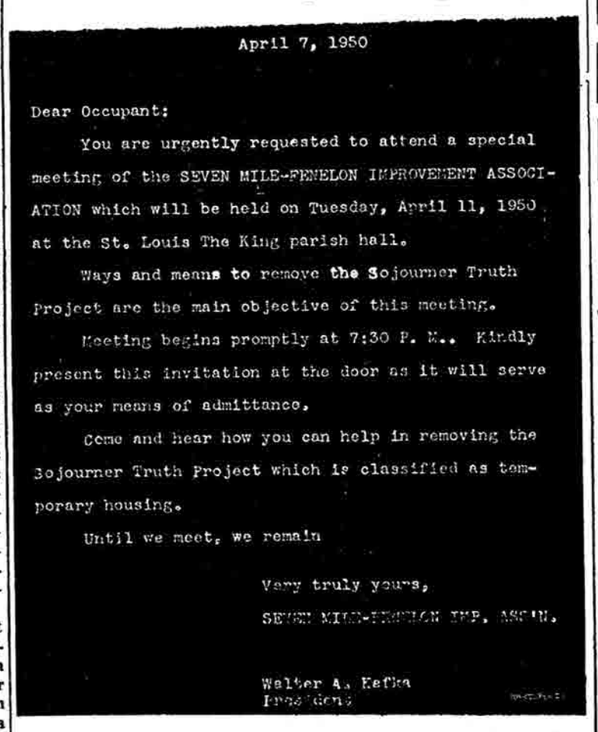
On the other hand, opposition forces were spirited. Solid blocks of delegates from such locals as Chevrolet Local 659, Packard Local 190, and overwhelming support in the Hudson 154 and Ford Local 190 delegations were signs of the times, reflecting the shift now taking place in the thinking of the auto workers.

### BAROMETER

**The Michigan CIO convention has been long considered a barometer of the sentiment within the auto union and for this reason is watched with special interest by the leadership of the UAW as well as by their opponents. To the fighters for a return to militant and democratic unionism, the state CIO convention shows promise for the future.**

Important in this connection is the fact that the resurgence of the oppositional forces to the conservative policies of the administration has taken place without being compromised by the Stalinists. This reflects not only the reduced influence of the Stalinists within the UAW but even more important the recognition by increasing numbers of UAW militants that independence from Stalinist domination and their false policies is essential to a successful fight for democratic and militant unionism. Viewed in this light, the state CIO convention marks a forward step for the forces of progressive unionism.

## *Proof of Anti-Negro Conspiracy*



April 7, 1950

Dear Occupant:

You are urgently requested to attend a special meeting of the SEVEN MILE-FENELON IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION which will be held on Tuesday, April 11, 1950 at the St. Louis The King parish hall.

Ways and means to remove the Sojourner Truth Project are the main objective of this meeting.

Meeting begins promptly at 7:30 P. M.. Kindly present this invitation at the door as it will serve as your means of admittance.

Come and hear how you can help in removing the Sojourner Truth Project which is classified as temporary housing.

Until we meet, we remain

Very truly yours,

SEVEN MILE-FENELON IMP. ASS'N.

Walter A. Kafka
President

**The above photostat shows the letter sent by racists urging attendance at meeting to plan attacks on Sojourner Truth housing project in Detroit. (See story on the right.)**

## L. A. PARLEY ON JOBS 'STUDIES' JOBLESSNESS

By Al Lynn

LOS ANGELES, May 6 — "The Los Angeles County Conference on Employment" held here last week accomplished nothing except to further reveal the growth of unemployment which daily takes a firmer grip on the economy.

In a major report delivered by Robert Dockson, economist for the Prudential Insurance Company of America, it was estimated that if nothing is done to alter present trends there will be 10 or 11 million unemployed by the end of 1955 even at current production rates.

In the figures released for Los Angeles County itself, there was plenty of evidence to substantiate this. In January 1947, 43% or 1,601,000 of the 3,700,000 residents of the county were "gainfully employed." In January 1950, an increase of 15% in population to 4,272,000 was accompanied by only 1,589,000 jobs or 37% employed. This trend of a growing population accompanied by increasing unemployment is nation-wide.

The picture, according to the conference, is even worse for the youth than for the rest of the population. Another 20,000 youth will enter the local labor market in June.

**Between January 1947 and the present there have never been less than 100,000 unemployed in Los Angeles County. The average for 1947 was 141,000, and for 1949 it was 183,000. For the first few months of 1950 it has remained near the 180,000 mark, or close to 16%. These figures alone indicate the reason why the Employment Conference, better labeled as the Unemployment Conference, was called.**

In the various panels a high proportion of those participating were government employees of the social-worker type. Employers and a few union bureaucrats rounded out the representation. Their "solutions" were along the lines of better advertising of available jobs, provision of employment for the handicapped, etc.

No real answer could be expected from such a conference to such a basic problem of capitalism as unemployment — and none was forthcoming.

## Detroit Racists Plot to Attack Negro Project

By Howard Lerner

DETROIT — The Sojourner Truth housing project of 200 family units is marked as the next victim of the professional Negro haters. An old Detroit combination, consisting of landlords, real estate sharks, KKK and other fascistic elements, has issued a "call to action" against this project — a photostatic copy of which is reproduced in the adjoining column.

The Seven Mile-Fenelon Improvement Association, sponsor of this move, is the same gang that organized and led the mass riots and violence against the admittance of Negro tenants to the newly-built Sojourner Truth housing project in 1942. In the past few months this gang has been responsible for the burning of six private dwellings designed for Negro occupancy in the same area.

**Their latest "call to action" is the most sinister and ambitious in a long series of crimes against the masses of Negro people in Detroit. It is designed not only to stop Detroit Negroes from winning new rights but to wipe out rights already won. Its aim is to force all Negroes back into the slum ghettoes.**

### RACISTS ENCOURAGED

The atmosphere here is propitious for the professional Negro haters. House burnings and cross burnings have gone unchallenged. Wanton police killings like that of young Leon Moseley have been whitewashed. No mass protest took place when a 60 year old Negro, George Jones, was shot to death in the back by a white streetcar motorman.

So outrageous has the situation become that George Schermer, chairman of the Mayor's Interracial Committee, was forced to publicly state that tensions in Detroit had reached the riot level. Schermer correctly placed the responsibility on the real estate interests. Mayor Cobo immediately let it be known that Schermer was next on his blacklist.

The week before, Cobo fired the Rev. Robert Bradby of the NAACP from the Housing Commission for demanding an end to the city's policy of segregated housing. At a recent public meeting of the NAACP to protest Cobo's actions, Cobo had the gall to install a recording machine.

**The Negro areas crawl with police scout cars, not to protect them but only to harass and victimize the Negro people. The Detroit police, under Cobo as under his predecessor, can be depended upon for one thing: to add insult to injury. Brutal attacks against the victims of mob violence — favoritism and protection for the white supremacist mobsters! Is it any wonder the profit-hungry landlords and their tools are out for blood?**

### WHY ARE THEY SO BOLD?

Why are these fascistic elements so bold and open in Detroit? Here the UAW has a truly powerful membership, more than enough to drive these rats into their holes. The great majority of the Sojourner Truth tenants are loyal union people working in UAW shops. The answer is plain. The UAW under Walter Reuther has pursued a do-nothing policy. It discourages mass action tactics. Reuther has substituted talk and dependence on capitalist politicians for mass action. Lip service and promises are all the Negro workers get from them.

In general, the same must be said of the present outlook of the NAACP in Detroit. This tends to leave the Negro masses defenseless.

**But what the Negro people have done before, they can do again. They broke through the iron curtain of government conspiracy in 1942. They enlisted the active support of the entire labor movement, as well as every friend of minority rights. At that time the NAACP, under the leadership of the Rev. Horace White, played an important role.**

Their struggle for the right to move into Sojourner Truth attracted national attention and support. They won that fight by their policy of militant mass action — demonstrating their determination to win. They then attracted the support of all labor and liberal organizations and forced federal and local government agencies to reverse their Jim Crow policies.

In 1942 the UAW recognized their fight as its fight and took a strong stand. The same militant tactics and policies can beat back this latest threat.

**The Negro militants must appeal to the rank and file of the UAW, the CIO and the NAACP. They must bring pressure to bear on the officers of these organizations to come to the aid of the tenants with the same policies and tactics that won them the right to move into the project in 1942.**

## Why So Little Was Won at Chrysler

DETROIT — **The meagerness of the gains from the long Chrysler strike was the product of the wrong policies and methods of the Reuther machine, which from start to finish played into the hands of the corporation. Last week we analyzed the main provisions of the settlement. Now we proceed to the basic reasons why so little was won.**

There are three reasons. The first is Reuther's political alliance with the Truman Democrats which has turned him and his machine into flunkies for these capitalist politicians. This is shown clearly, for example, in Reuther's capitulation to Truman's "fact-finders," who called for a wage freeze and a ceiling of 10c. for insurance, hospitalization and pension plans. Overnight, the decision of the UAW Convention was thrown overboard in favor of the recommendation of these corporation lawyers and professors. They have more influence on Reuther and his machine than the convention of his own union.

### POLITICAL SUBSERVIENCE

**Nor is this an isolated incident. Reuther's slavish alliance with the Trumanites places its stamp deeply on his entire strategy, and shows up in every aspect of strike activity. Mass action tactics, which built the UAW, are rejected as "outdated." The membership is urged "to be militant by staying at home." No regular mass picketing is permitted. Only in the ninth week of the strike was the first mass demonstration called. Instead of fighting, the union officials now beg. How could the workers have gained from this?**

They suffered losses even in such matters as welfare relief which was denied to thousands of needy strikers while the rest received inadequate relief because the International refused to fight the welfare authorities and followed instead a pussyfoot social-worker policy of "cooperation." That is the gist of the new policy — cooperate with everyone but your membership.

The second reason why the Chrysler gains were meager was that a heavy lid was clamped down on union democracy. The membership had no say whatever in the conduct of negotiations and the strike. They could only sit home and wait for orders, but were not permitted to intervene. In some locals, such as Dodge 3, all membership and standing committee meetings were ordered discontinued until the end of the strike. All this was a great boon to the corporation. With the rank and file out of the way, the company could concentrate on Reuther, Matthews and the rest — and that was easy.

### DEMOCRACY RESTRICTED

The restrictions of union democracy went so far that even the ratification of the agreement was carried off in flagrant violation of the constitution. The traditional UAW method, fixed by the constitution, is to ratify by secret ballot at a membership meeting. Meetings were called — but only for reports and canned speeches. The vote itself was held the next day at the union hall by referendum, and in a very sloppy way.

This procedure sets a dangerous precedent. In most of the locals, the printed agreement was not even made available to the membership before the vote. The turnout was very poor.

**Dodge Local 3 meeting was typical. From 2,000 to 3,000 attended. First the local president read the changes. Few could hear him, let alone understand him. Then Reuther gave one of his canned speeches, filled with big promises of what he would do for the workers ten years from now. Five minutes was allowed for questions and then the meeting was taken up with the drawing of a clothing raffle by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. This typifies Reuther's entire attitude. Give the workers big promises and a circus atmosphere — but at all costs keep the lid on the membership. And the more you give away to the corporations, the bigger you make your promises.**

### WRONG STRATEGY

The third major reason for the small Chrysler gains is the foolhardy and wrong "one-at-a-time" strategy which Reuther's political ties and his deep-seated fear of aggressive action have up to now saddled upon the UAW. The Reuther administration has stuck doggedly to this one-at-a-time strategy as opposed to industry-wide methods of bargaining and fighting — in the face of overwhelming proof that it squanders the energies and resources of the union and its members.

**When Reuther was still fighting for power, he used to give lip-service, to industry-wide bargaining because he knew how popular it was — but since he has come to the top, he has continued to break this promise too.**

He uses two alibis to peddle the false one-at-a-time policy. One, that the competition in the industry makes it the better strategy by isolating individual companies to establish a pattern. Second, that by the one-at-a-time strategy, the union can build up a financial war chest. But while there is competition among them, the monopolists always pool their resources against the union. It is the union that gets isolated, not the corporations.

The second alibi is equally false. Reuther banks on outlasting the corporation financially, on winning a strike by competing with the company in staying power in a financial duel. This hasn't worked. It can't work. The day the strike ended the Chrysler Corporation declared a dividend of $1.50 a share for its stockholders. In '26 and '37 the UAW didn't have a dime and still beat the auto corporations in short quick strikes. They did it because they employed their mass power — the power of their overwhelming mass numbers behind militant mass action.

**It is because John L. Lewis employs these methods in industry-wide tactics that he wins. His last strike lasted only 52 days. Even Philip Murray, who is as weakkneed and undemocratic as Reuther, has been compelled to employ the industry-wide method of bargaining. Murray won more or less what he asked for in a five-week strike.**

### INDUSTRY-WIDE ACTION

The auto industry is a far more dynamic one than either coal or steel. An industry-wide shutdown here, or even the threat of it, would have enormous immediate consequences. Within a few day's time it would affect five million workers in steel, rubber, glass, coal, fabricating cloth, railroad and trucking. This is the only kind of pressure Big Business is really sensitive to. They would think many times before forcing such a strike.

**And if they did — the issue would have to come to a head quickly. Just imagine the effects of an industry-wide auto shutdown in Michigan and it becomes plain why long starvation strikes would be out of the picture if the International employed such a strategy.**

The little that actually was won at Chrysler can be traced to the dissatisfaction of the auto workers with Reuther's weak-kneed policies. In the very midst of the Reuther-led Chrysler strike, his supporters were voted out of office in six GM plants and an anti-Reuther majority elected to the big Ford Local 600 Executive Board.

**Reuther saw these signs of unrest and discontent, recognized that his prestige was by far not the same as he had before the Ford and Chrysler strike, and felt compelled to hold out for at least a few minor gains to avoid a complete debacle in the local union elections.**

### THE WAY OUT

There is a way out of the blind alley into which the Reuther administration has led the union. But the solution depends on the creation of a new, aggressive independent leadership, responsible to the rank and file. Such leaders can be found among the militants in the shops. A fighting leadership was found there and built from scratch in 1936 and 1937, and it can be done again.

**The new leadership would have to adopt a militant industry-wide strategy, fight to re-establish union democracy, restore mass action and self-reliance and break all ties with the Democratic Party and other capitalist politicians. With such a program, the UAW could be revitalized, strike fear into the hearts of the auto barons and again assume leadership of American labor's fight for a better world.**